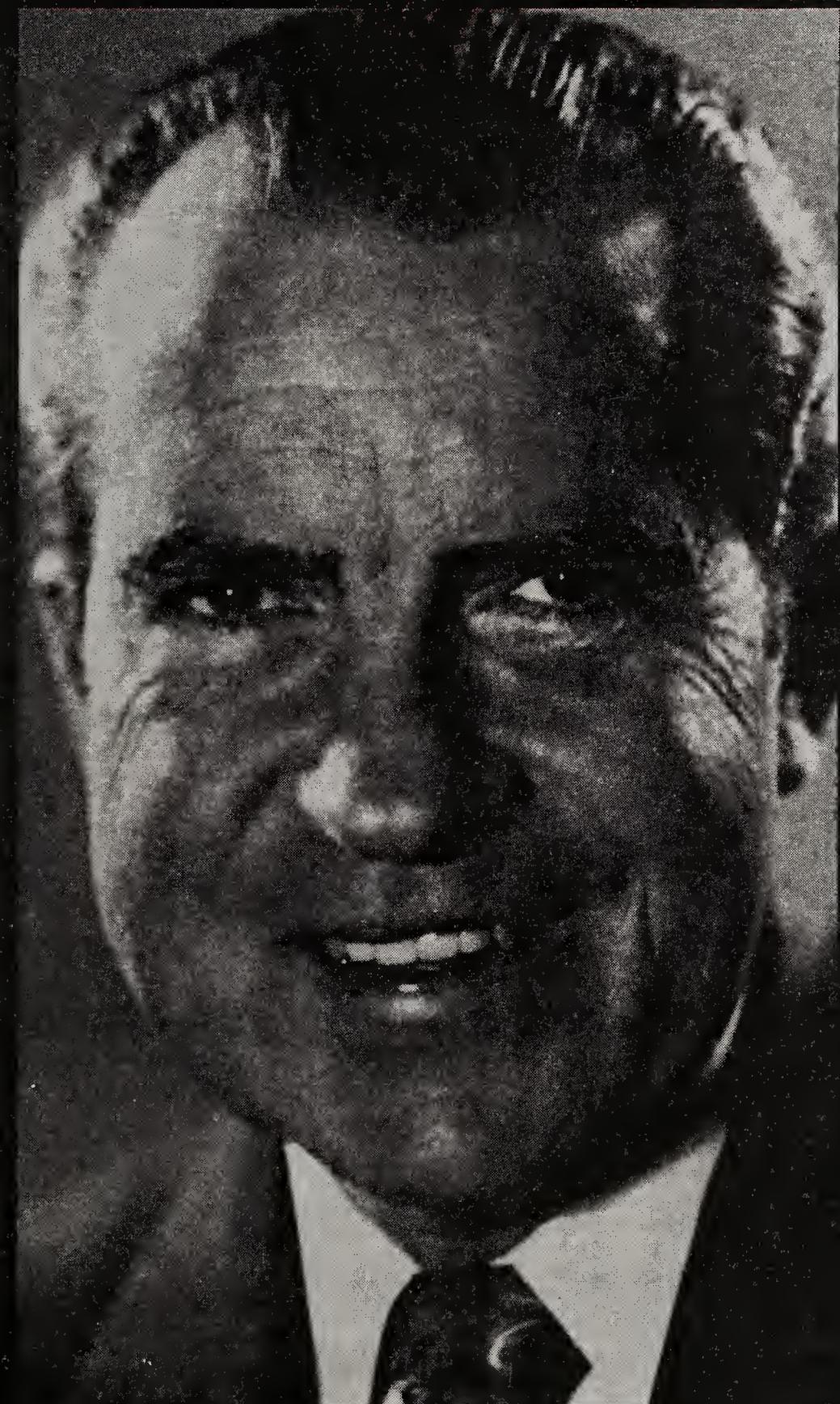


6 Million Victims:



The
human
cost
of the
Indochina
War
under
President
Nixon.

SIX MILLION VICTIMS

According to official Pentagon and U. S. Senate statistics, over 6 million human beings have been killed, wounded, made homeless or captured in Indochina under Mr. Nixon. None of these need have happened had Mr. Nixon been willing to allow the Indochinese people to decide their own destiny.

When Mr. Nixon took office on January 20, 1969, he had two clear alternatives:

(1) PEACE: He could get out of Indochina, allowing the people to settle their own affairs and rebuild their devastated country.

(2) WAR: He could continue military action to keep a pro-American regime in power in Saigon.

He chose war, substituting the use of American air power for American ground troops, calling it "Vietnamization." Today, there are over 200,000 U. S. troops waging war against the people of Indochina from bases in Thailand, aircraft carriers in the Gulf of Tonkin and air bases in Guam, Hawaii, Okinawa and the Philippines.

This decision to keep fighting has brought unprecedented misery to the people of Indochina during Mr. Nixon's years. He doubled the bombing of Laos, initiated a full-scale air war over Cambodia leaving vast portions of Cambodia in ruins and creating over 2 million refugees; and he resumed the bombing of North Vietnam on April 8, 1972.

In the name of the American people and democratic ideals, the Nixon administration, through General Thieu, has established a nationwide apparatus of assassins, jailers, informers, and vastly increased the secret police to insure the unpopular Thieu's continued rule.

Upon winning the presidency in 1968 (by only 35% of the votes cast) Thieu jailed his principal opposition candidate Truong Dinh Dzu. In October 1971, not daring to risk a free election Thieu and the Nixon administration engineered a one-man election by buying votes and terrorizing political opponents. Thieu has since gone on to abolish Parliament, and hamlet level elections, thus installing rule by decree. Tens of thousands of civilians have been jailed in recent months; newspapers, television and radio stations have been censored and closed down; and government workers have been sent to jail for attempting to organize strikes.

This insistence on imposing the Thieu regime on the people of South Vietnam has insured that negotiations would make no progress. Since Mr. Nixon intended to stay on in South Vietnam, he has consistently rejected all peace offers, including the Seven Point Peace Plan of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. All the PRG asks is that Mr. Nixon withdraw all U. S. forces from Indochina and set a date for the cessation of military and economic aid to the Thieu regime. In return, the plan provides for the return of American POW's, the safe return of American troops, and a coalition government in South Vietnam.

One undeniable cost to many Americans of Mr. Nixon's refusal to allow the Vietnamese to settle their own affairs is the continued imprisonment of American POW's. The PRG has made it clear that if Mr. Nixon will set a date for total withdrawal, they will begin returning POW's (as will the North Vietnamese) even before the war is over. By refusing even to test this offer, Mr. Nixon has doomed U. S. POW's to further imprisonment, and insured that new Americans will be captured. In doing this, Mr. Nixon has ignored the will of the American people as well. An August Gallup Poll shows that most Americans favor the idea of a coalition government, the very plan put forward by the PRG and rejected by Mr. Nixon.

Realizing that Mr. Nixon has no intention of withdrawing from Indochina, the PRG and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) chose to launch a major offensive in April 1972 to destroy his "Vietnamization" program. From the Vietnamese perspective, this offensive is but one more phase of a 4,000 year old struggle to see their country free of foreign intervention. They have succeeded in freeing large areas from U. S.-Thieu control, and made it clear that Mr. Nixon is playing out his last option in Vietnam.

Mr. Nixon's response has been an attempt to "win" through the demoralization of the Indochinese people by raising their suffering to a new high. By tripling B52 and fighter bomber levels, and relaxing targeting restriction, Mr. Nixon is carrying out the most indiscriminate bombing of civilian targets throughout Indochina yet seen in the war; his mining and blockading of North Vietnam's harbors, while not stopping military supplies which come in through China, is an attempt at cutting off the flow of life-sustaining commodities; his bombing of the dikes threatens millions with drowning and starvation.

After five administrations we are no closer to peace in Indochina today than we were 25 years ago. Indeed, Mr. Nixon's policies promise even more killing in the years to come.

As long as Mr. Nixon pursues his "secret plan," the American-inflicted agony of Indochina will continue unabated.

THE NIXON YEARS: JANUARY 1, 1969-JUNE 30, 1972

4.5 MILLION INDOCHINESE CIVILIANS killed, wounded or made homeless

A. The Official record shows 4,624,000 civilians have been killed, wounded or made refugees under Nixon in Indochina.

(1) 165,000 South Vietnamese civilians have been killed.

(2) 410,000 South Vietnamese civilians have been wounded.

(3) 1,855,000 South Vietnamese civilians have been made refugees.

(4) 2,000,000 Cambodian civilians have been made refugees.

(5) 194,000 Laotian civilians have been made homeless.

Sources: (a) "War Victims in Vietnam," by Senator Kennedy, Congressional Record, August 3, 1972, S12592. (b) "Problems of War Victims in Indochina, Parts I and II," U. S. Senate Subcommittee on Refugees, pp. 37 and 38, May 8 and 9, 1972.

B. The official record does not include the following civilian victims:

(1) More than two million South Vietnamese refugees who have gone unrecorded in refugee camps but are estimated to have been made homeless under Johnson and Nixon.

(2) The tens of thousands of Laotian civilians killed and wounded by U. S. bombing and ground fighting in Laos. *The Air War in Indochina*, a Cornell University study (Beacon Press, Littauer and Uphoff, Ed., p. 281) estimates that Nixon dropped 1,230,000 tons of bombs on Laos between 1969 and the end of 1971 alone.

(3) The tens of thousands of Cambodians killed and wounded by U. S. bombing and ground fighting in that country under Mr. Nixon.

(4) The tens of thousands of North Vietnamese killed and wounded by U. S. bombing in North Vietnam under Mr. Nixon. Secretary of Defense McNamara estimated in 1967, according to the Pentagon Papers, that U. S. bombing was killing or seriously injuring over 1,000 people a week. At that rate, Mr. Nixon may be responsible for 20,000 civilian casualties between April 8 and September 2, 1972, alone.



THE THIEU REGIME HAS VASTLY ITS APPARATUS OF REPRESSION:

A. The Thieu dictatorship has imposed severe restrictions on even basic democratic freedoms.

1. The Thieu regime has abolished even the formerly rigged elections of officials in 10,775 hamlets in South Vietnam. Now only hand-picked military province chiefs appoint all officials on all levels.

(Source: *New York Times*, September 6, 1972)

2. According to Mr. Ngo Cong Duc, editor of the daily *Tin Sang*, president of the Federation of Newspaper Editors of South Vietnam, "In the jails of South Vietnam one finds more than 200,000 political prisoners confined only for opposing the Thieu regime."

(Source: September 6, 1972 press conference statement delivered in Paris, France.)

3. Constraints have been placed on what remains of a free press with opposition newspapers censored, confiscated and forced out of business. On August 5, 1972, Thieu issued an edict

requiring all of Saigon's 46 dailies to deposit \$47,000 in the government treasury as a guarantee to cover possible future censorship fines. Fifty journalists are now in jail and it is expected that only the seven or eight pro-Government daily newspapers out of forty-six will continue to operate in the weeks ahead.

(*Far Eastern Economic Review*, August 19, 1972, p. 14; *New York Times*, August 6, 1972.)

B. The United States has increased its funding for police and prisons under Thieu.

1. The number of national police has jumped from 77,000 in 1968 to 120,000 in 1971 with a projected goal of 147,000.

(Source: *New York Times*, April 14, 1971)

2. Funding for Thieu's prison system has jumped from \$78,000 in 1967 to \$624,000 in 1972 with a total of \$2,161,200 during the Nixon administration.

1.5 MILLION SOLDIERS on all sides killed or wounded

A. The official record says that 1,489,240 combatants on all sides have been killed or wounded under Nixon. The source for these figures is the Pentagon Information Office. Official Pentagon figures for 1966-71 can be found in the Air War in Indochina pp. 267-72. Figures for 1965 and January 1-June 30, 1972 can be obtained from the Pentagon Information Office.

(1) 20,327 Americans killed by hostile and non-hostile causes.

(2) 110,968 Americans wounded, including hospitalized and non-hospitalized.

(3) 81,623 ARVN killed.

(4) 273,130 ARVN wounded, ARVN only counting those seriously wounded.

(5) 412,996 "Enemy" killed.

(6) 619,494 "Enemy" wounded, Pentagon estimating 1.5 wounded for every person killed.

(7) 2,426 Third Nation killed, not including 1972.

(8) 5,196 Third Nation wounded, not including 1972.

B. The official record does not include the following combatant casualties:

(1) The tens of thousands of Laotian, Meo, Thai and U. S. soldiers and special forces killed and wounded in Laos and Cambodia.

20,000 AMERICANS killed 110,000 wounded, over 500 captured or missing in action & over \$59 billion expended

A. The official record shows that between January 1, 1969 and June 30, 1972, \$59.6 billion was spent, 20,327 Americans were killed, 110,968 Americans were wounded, 337 Americans captured or missing in action.

(1) Congressman Donald W. Riegle, (Republican-Michigan), released figures obtained for him by the Library of Congress from the Department of Defense News Branch, Public Affairs Office. They include 467 Americans missing in action under Nixon and 70 listed as POWs between 1969 and July 1972.

(2) Congressman Riegle's figures also show cost figures were \$12 billion for February 1, 1969

through June 30, 1969; \$23.1 billion for fiscal year (FY) 1970; \$15.3 billion for FY 1971; and \$9.2 billion for FY 1972, for a grand total of \$59.6 billion under Nixon.

B. Present figures indicate that the war continues to cost some \$20 million and 10 American casualties daily.

(1) The \$20 million a day figure is based on budget authorization demanded by Secretary of Defense Laird for FY 1973 of about \$7 billion. Many experts estimate that the war may well cost far more.

INCREASED

THE RECORD SHOWS A TREMENDOUS INCREASE
IN DICTATORIAL REPRESSION UNDER MR. NIXON'S
SPONSORSHIP OF GENERAL THIEU

(Source: *Testimony by U. S. Ambassador Colby, Hearings on U. S. Assistance*, p. 226, July and August 1971)

3. By conservative estimates, there are over 100,000 citizens being held in prison in Saigon. (Source: *Hearings on U. S. Assistance*, August, 1971, p. 195)

4. Arrests in South Vietnam since the beginning of the offensive are continuing at a rate of 14,000 per month.

(Source: *Time Magazine*, July 10, 1972, p. 27).

C. Thieu continues to uproot the people from their ancestral lands driving them into large urban areas.

1. 1,855,000 peasants have been forced into refugee camps since January 1, 1969.

(Source: "War Victims in Vietnam" by Senator Kennedy, Congressional Record, August 3, 1972, S12592, 1969.)



Documented Source Material on the Human Cost of the Indochina War under the Nixon Administration, (Primary Sources: *The Pentagon Information Office and the U. S. Senate Subcommittee on Refugees*.)

40,000 SOUTH VIETNAMESE CIVILIANS executed without trial under the PHOENIX PROGRAM

A. The official record shows that 38,739 civilians were killed between January 1969 and July 31, 1971.

(1) 40,994 civilians are reported as killed by the Phoenix program, a CIA-directed project to eliminate suspected "enemy civilians," from its inception in August 1968 until the middle of 1971.

(This figure is found in an official booklet put by the Thieu regime's Ministry of Information, entitled "Vietnam 1967-71, Toward Peace and Prosperity," p. 52. The latest figure in the book is July 31, 1971.)

(2) The Kissinger papers reveal that 2,255 civilians were killed by the Phoenix program between its inception in August 1968 and January 1969. (Congressional Record, May

11, 1972 pE5019.) By subtracting the 2,255 killed in 1968 from the overall total by July 31, 1971, we find that 38,739 civilians have been murdered by Phoenix under Nixon.

B. The official record does not include the number of civilians murdered by Phoenix under Nixon between July 31, 1971 and the present.

CONDITIONS FOR PEACE EXIST TODAY: IF MR. NIXON SETS THE DATE, OUR POW'S CAN RETURN AND THE BLOODSHED CAN STOP

Despite the web of lies spun by Nixon Administration, 76% of the American people still favor withdrawal from Vietnam. Peace could come today if the American people fully understood three indisputable facts:

1. VIETNAM IS ONE COUNTRY

For 4,000 years all Vietnamese have regarded themselves as one people, however long they have been divided and occupied by foreigners. The 1954 Geneva Agreements specifically recognize Vietnam's oneness. North Vietnam and South Vietnam were divided into two temporary zones, pending only free elections in 1956, which the U. S. controlled Diem regime canceled. Point 6 of the Geneva Agreements specifically stated: "The Military Demarcation Line is provisional and should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary."

2. MR. NIXON IS CONTINUING AN ILLEGAL INVASION OF VIETNAM

As early as March 12, 1954, the U. S. Joint Chiefs of Staff stated: "A settlement based upon free elections would be attended by almost certain loss of (Indochina) to Communist control." (Pentagon Papers, Gravel Ed., Vol. 1, p. 449). In January 1961, the Pentagon Papers recalled that "Without U. S. support Diem almost certainly could not have consolidated his hold on the South during 1955 and 1956. Without the threat of U. S. intervention South Vietnam could not have refused to even discuss the elections called for in 1956 under the Geneva settlement." (Gravel Ed. Col. II, p. 22). It was the United States which illegally installed Diem, illegally waged war to keep him and his successors in power, and the Nixon administration which today continues this illegal invasion.

3. SETTING A DATE FOR TOTAL WITHDRAWAL IS THE ONLY WAY TO SAVE HONOR AND OUR POW's

Nothing stains the honor of the United States more than the continued killing of the Indochinese. The only peace with honor that can be achieved is by our setting a date for the total withdrawal of our military force and the termination of our imposition of the Thieu regime on the Vietnamese people. The PRG has made it clear that if we do our POW's will be returned and a coalition government will come to power in Saigon, composed of members of the Saigon government (minus Thieu) neutralists and the PRG. If we do not set the date, the slaughter and the POW imprisonment will continue indefinitely.



THE INDOCHINA PEACE CAMPAIGN WORKS TO END THE WAR

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This brochure was prepared by the Indochina Peace Campaign in order to give the people of our country the facts on Mr. Nixon's incredible escalation of the Indochina War. Many of these facts are printed in the Pentagon's own documents, but are not made available to the public. FOR FURTHER DOCUMENTATION OF THESE FACTS AND OTHERS, CONTACT:

- (1) Project Air War (202) 785-3111
1322 18th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036
- (2) The Pentagon Information Office
(202) OX 7-2873

The Indochina Peace Campaign is an independent non-partisan campaign for peace in Indochina. It included educational programs by many peace groups and a national educational tour by Jane Fonda, Tom Hayden, George Smith, Holly Near and others traveling through seven states: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, and California.

Our message is simple: (1) The people of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia are not the enemies of the American people; (2) The war must be brought to an immediate end so that the awful destruction of the people, land and culture of Indochina and the suffering of the American people can cease; (3) The only way for peace to come is for the President to (A) stop all bombing and shelling and withdraw all American personnel and military equipment and (B) to remove all support for the Thieu dictatorship so that the people of Vietnam can determine their own destiny.

THE INDOCHINA PEACE CAMPAIGN NEEDS YOUR HELP

We need your help to spread the truth. Please contact either our national office or your nearest local office. There is much work for all to do.

"Those who have had a chance for four years and could not produce peace should not be given another chance"

RICHARD M. NIXON, OCT. 9, 1968.